

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBSSY AMMAN

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DEPT PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR KEATING

E.O.11652: N/A

TAGSC PFOR, XF, IS,EG,US

SUBJECT: PERES ON EGYPTAIN -ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS AND US-ISRAELI
RELATIONS

REFC FBIS TA 171725

1. WE WISH TO CALL DEPARTMENT'S ATTENTION TO FBIS TRANSMISSION OF DEFENSE MINISTER PERES' LENGTHY INDEPENDENCE
EVE ARTICLE" ACTION--IN ABSENCE OF A SETTLEMENT". PERES
IN GREAT DETAIL AND WITH CONSIDERABLE INTELLECTUAL VIGOR
ANALYZES, FROM ISRAELI VIEWPOINT, CONFLICTING REQUIREMENTS
OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL WHICH LED TO SUSPENSION OF NEGOTIATIONS,
CONSIDERS IMPLICATION OF BREAKDOWN FOR ISRAELI-US RELATIONSHIP
AND OUTLINES OPTIONS CONFRONTING ISRAELI IN MONTHS
AHEAD. FOLLOWING REMARKS ARE INTENDED TO HIGHLIGHT SOME
OF PERES' MAIN POINTS AND ALSO TO SUGGEST NATURE OF QUANDARY
NOW CONFRONTING ISRAELI POLICY MAKERS.

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2. EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVES. AS PERES RECONSTRUCTS
THE NEGOTIATIONS, EGYPT'S PURPOSE WAS TO OBTAIN FROM ISRAEL
THE PASSES AND OIL FIELDS WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF A PURELY
MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT, WITHOUT ANY SUBSTANTIVE

POLITICAL CONTENT, CONFINED TO MINIMAL TIME FROMAE. EGYPT
THUS INTENDED TO CREATE DIPLOMATIC SITUATION IN WHICH
ISRAEL WOULD HAVE BEEN COMPELLD TO NEGOTIATIE WITHIN
VERY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME THERAFTER WITH SYRIA, JORDAN
AND AGAN WITH EGYPT. SADAT'S DEEPER PURPOSE WAS AND
REMAINS TO SHRINK OR ELIMINATE ISRAEL,WHICH CAN BE
ACCOMPLISHED BY ONE OR ALL OF FOLLOWING: WAR, AATHIS
SO FAR HAS NOT WORKED; DISINTEGRATION FROM WITHIN; POLITICAL
ISOLATION, PARTICULARLY BY DESTROYING ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP WITH
US. EGYPT IS NOW CONCENTRATING ON LAST OF THESE APPROACHES.

3. SUSPENSION OF NEGOTIATIONS.PERES ARGUES THAT
BREAKDOWN OF TALKS STEMMED FROM EGYPTIAN REJECTION OF ISRAEL'S PROPOS-
ALS
INVOLVING POLITICAL ELEMENTS OR AY MEASURES OF BILATERAL
COOPERATION WITH POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS, AS WELL AS
REFUSAL TO GIVE AGREEMENT SIGNIFICANT TIME FRAME. SADAT'S
STAND SERVED EYGPT'S DIVERGENT INTERSTS VIS-A-VIS US AND
ISREL, OFFERING MAXIMUM RESPONSE TO US BY SETTING STAGE
FOR EGYPT TO MOVE MORE COMPLETELY FROM SOVIET TO AMERICAN
CAMPS,BUT ONLY MINIMUM RESPONSE TO DISTINCTLY ISRAELI
POLITICAL/SECURITY REQUIREMENTS. THUS HE SET STAGE FOR
ISRAELI/US DISAGREEMENT ONCE TALKS COLLAPSED.

4. CRITIQUE OF STEP-BY-STEP FORMAT. PERS EXPLAIN
THAT IN PRACTICAL TERMS STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH WAS
DETERIORATING INTO PROCESS OF RUNNING LAP-AFTER-LAP
WITHOUTPAUSES ON A TIGHTSCHEDULE. HAD GOE-GOI
AGREEMENT BEEN REACHED ISRAEL WOULD HAVE BEEN CALLED
ON TO DEAL WITH SYRIA IN THREE MONTHS, THEN THREE MONTHS
LATER WITH EGYPT, AND THREE MONTHS THREAFTER WITH JORDAN. MORE-
OVER, HAD ISRAEL ACCEPTED SADAT'S DEMANDS ARABS WOULD
HAVE PRESSURED EVEN HARDER TO DEMAND RAPID STRING OF
ISRAELI CONCESSIONS. ISRAEL RESERVATIONS OR OBJECTIONS
WOULD HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED AS STUBBORNESS AND INTRANSI-
GENECE.

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5. US-ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP. PERES OUTLINES COMPLEXITY
OF CURRENT ISRAEL-US RELATIONS, NOTING THAT MAINTENANCE
OF CLOSE RELATIONSHIP MUST REMAIN ISRAEL'S MAIN FOREIGN
POLICY OBJECTIVE. AT SAME TIME ISRAEL MUST FIRMLY DEFEND
ITS CASE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH USG, WHILE AVOIDING
STERILE CONTROVRSIES AND PERSONAL ATTACKS. US/ISRAEL
RELATIONSHIP IS AFFECTED BY TWO FACTORS IN CURRENT NEGOTIATING
CONTEXT: -) AS
RESULT OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS US IS
IN STATE OF WEAKNESS, AND CAN ONLY MAKE WEAK PROMISES
TO BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS. US CANNOT REPLACE SOVIET IN-
FLUENCE IN ARAB WORLD, BUT ONLY SUPPLEMENT IT-
B) IF THERE WRE ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT UNDER US AUSPICES,

EGYPTIAN-US RELATIONS WOULD BECOME CLOSER, WITH CONCOMITANT WEAKENING OF ISRAELI-US RELATIONS. IN EFFECT, PERES SAYS, WITH OR WITHOUT A SETTLEMENT EGYPT AND US ARE DRAWING CLOSER TO EACH OTHER. NOTING US CLAIM THAT IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH EGYPT WAS ALSO GOOD FOR ISRAEL, PERES LIMITS HIMSELF TO SAYING, "I DO NOT DOUBT THAT THERE'S AN ELEMENT OF TAKING ISRAEL INTO CONSIDERATION."

6. PROSPECTS. PERES SEES SUMMER MONTHS AS CRITICAL JUNCTURE, LEADING EITHER TO WAR OR TO NEW NEGOTIATING EFFORTS; A) THE NEGOTIATING OPTION--SADAT WILL OPEN CANAL ON JUNE 5, GO ON REBUILDING TOWNS, SETTING STAGE FOR NEW NEGOTIATING EFFORT WHICH COULD BE EITHER "KISSINGER-STYLED NEGOTIATIONS" OR GOING TO GENEVA TO STUDY PROSPECT OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT B) WAR OPTION--WAR COULD CONCEIVABLY BREAK OUT ON THREE FRONTS, INCLUDING JORDAN. IT COULD START EITHER IN SOUTHERN OR NORTHERN FRONT, WITH VIOLATION OF DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT AS POSSIBLE PRECIPITATING EVENT.

7. COMMENT: WHILE PERES REFRAINS FROM DRAWING EXPLICIT CONCLUSION RE HIS PREFERRED APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS, HIS CRITIQUE OF DANGERS AND SHORTCOMINGS OF STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH WOULD SEEM TO ARGUE AGAINST EFFORTS TO RESUSCITATE IT. IF THIS IS CASE, AND ALSO ASSUMING PERES BELIEVES THAT A PROLONGED DEADLOCK IS UNDESIRABLE, HIS ARTICLE STRONGLY SUGGESTS THAT ONLY ALTERNATIVE IS TO SEEK OVERALL SETTLEMENT
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WITHIN CONTEXT OF GENEVA.
DOZIER

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